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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 GENEVA 4693

EXDIS USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENTS OF JUNE 10, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1217)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JUNE 10, 1977.

SEMENOV'S FIRST STATEMENT, JUNE 10, 1977

AT THE JUNE 3, 1977 MEETING THE USSR DELEGATION EXPRESSED ITS CONSIDERATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THOSE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, AND THE AGREED STATEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH IT, WHERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US REMAIN. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT WHAT YOU SAID AT THAT SAME MEETING BY WAY OF A PRELIMINARY REACTION TO OUR STATEMENT, I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THE FOLLOWING.

THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SHOWS AGREEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE WORDING CONCERNING TESTING IN THE AGREED STATEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3,
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APPLIES TO ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH TESTING, AND NOT ONLY TO THOSE IN WHICH TESTING IS EXPRESSLY MENTIONED. INASMUCH AS THERE IS AGREEMENT TO THIS EFFECT, THE SIDES COULD AGREE UPON A JOINT FORMULATION REGARDING TESTING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREED STATEMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION.

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IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE TO REFLECT IN THE JOINT TEXT OF THE DRAFT THE COINCIDING POSITIONS OF THE SIDES TO THE EFFECT THAT TESTS OF ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSE PENETRATION AIDS ARE NOT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES.

IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO ASSIGN THIS WORK TO THE DRAFTING GROUP.

I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE PHRASE CONTAINED IN THE THIRD SENTENCE YOU PROPOSED FOR ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, REGARDING "MEASURES AND PRACTICES WHICH RESULT IN UNINTENTIONALLY IMPEDING VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS" WOULD, IN VIEW OF ITS VAGUENESS, ONLY BE A SOURCE OF DISPUTES; THIS WOULD NOT HELP TO INCREASE TRUST BETWEEN THE SIDES. MOREOVER, IT WOULD CREATE GROUNDS FOR POSSIBLE UNFOUNDED ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE IN THE PURELY INTERNAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SIDES, THE LOGIC OF WHICH IS DETERMINED BY ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS, IN PARTICULAR. IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE CONTRACTING PARTIES NOT TO PERMIT THIS.

THUS, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE TO THE THIRD SENTENCE OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3.

AS FOR METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION DURING TESTING, THE PURPOSE OF THE RELEVANT PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET SIDE IS TO GIVE THE NECESSARY PRECISION AND UNAMBIGUITY TO THE FORMULATIONS BEING WORKED OUT REGARDING DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES.

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THE SOVIET SIDE IS NOT RAISING WITH THE U.S. THE QUESTION OF INTRODUCING CHANGES OR LIMITATIONS IN THEIR METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION AND BELIEVES THAT IN THIS RESPECT, AS GENERALLY IN WORKING OUT THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, TRU RECIPROCITY IS REQUIRED. EACH SIDE ON ITS OWN HAS THE RIGHT TO ESTABLISH AND USE THOSE METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION, WHICH IT CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE FOR TESTS OF ONE KIND OF ANOTHER.

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EXDIS USSALTTWO

INCLUSION IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT TO
ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, OF A PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT
METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION DURING
TESTING ARE NOT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES PRECLUDES
THE POSSIBILITY OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD NOT MEAN THAT THE SCOPE OF THE
OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES UNDER THE AGREED PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2
OF ARTICLE XVI OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WOULD BE NARROWED IN
ANY WAY, AND THIS ALSO APPLIES TO THE CONTENT OF PARA 3
OF THAT ARTICLE AND THE AGREED STATEMENT THERETO. ON THE
CONTRARY, IT IS PRECISELY THE CONTENT OF THESE PARAGRAPHS
THAT ALSO CONSTITUTES AN UNSHAKABLE BASIS FOR COMPLETING
AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARICLE XVI, PAR. 3, AND THE
AGREED STATEMENT THERETO.

THE SIDES HAVE AGREED THAT THE OBLIGATION NOT TO USE
DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES SHALL NOT REQUIRE CHANGES
IN CURRENT CONSTRUCTION, ASSEMBLY, CONVERSION, OR OVERHAUL
PRACTICES. BY ANALOGY, THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES THAT A
PROVISION BE RECORDED IN ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, TO THE EFFECT
THAT NEITHER WOULD ANY CHANGES BE REQUIRED IN CURRENT
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TESTING PRACTICES.

IT HAS BEEN SAID HERE THAT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE
TASKS OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COM-
PLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED
OUT, THERE ARE NO GROUNDS WHATSOEVER FOR INTRODUCING CHANGES
IN CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES. AT THE JUNE 3, 1977 MEETING
THE U.S. SIDE ALLEGED THAT AS A RESULT OF THIS, EACH SIDE
WOULD RECEIVE CARTE BLANCHE TO ADOPT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT
MEASURES WITH REGARD TO TESTING DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN

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TODAY AND THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT. SUCH AN ASSEMPTION IS UNUSTIFIED, FROM A POLITICAL STANDPOINT AS WELL.

NEITHER IS IT POSSIBLE TO AGREE THAT THE PROVISION ON CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES, PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE FOR INCLUSION IN ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, WOULD, SO IT IS SAID, ELIMINATE WHAT MIGHT BE REGARDED AS LEGITIMATE COMPLAINTS.

SHOULD ANY AMBIGUOUS SITUATION ARISE IN CONNECTION WITH COMPLIANCE WITH SOME PROVISION OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, AS AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES IN ARTICLE XVII, SUBPAR. 2(A), IT COULD BE APPROPRIATELY CONSIDERED IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. AND THAT, OF COURSE, WOULD APPLY EQUALLY TO THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES UNDER ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, AS WELL.

I RECALL THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION'S OBJECTIONS WERE MOTIVATED BY CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE ACTIONS AIMED AT CONCEALING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ICBM'S AND THEIR LAUNCHERS DURING TESTING. ON JUNE 3, 1977 THE USSR DELEGATION STATED THAT IF THIS IS SO, THE SOVIET SIDE COULD CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF THE SIDES ASSUMING AN OBLIGATION TO REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS OF THIS KIND. THE SOVIET INITIATIVE MERITS CAREFUL STUDY.

NOW, ON THE USE OF THE WORD "SPECIAL" IN THE AGREED

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STATEMENT REGARDING DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES RE-FERRED TO IN ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3. THIS WORD DOES NOT IMPLY, AS STATED HERE, THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME KINE OF "NON-SPECIAL" DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES. ON THE CONTRARY, IN FACT, IT ACCURATELY DELIMITS DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES, AT THE SAME TIME PRECLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING AMONG THEM ACTIONS WHICH ARE NOT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES.

THE USSR DELEGATION LOOKS FORWARD TO HEARING THE CONSIDERATIONS OF THE U.S. DELEGATION ON THE QUESTIONS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, AND THE AGREED STATEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH IT, WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR WAHT WE SAID TODAY AS WELL AS ON JUNE 3, 1977.

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EXDIS USSALTTWO

SEMENOV'S SECOND STATEMENT, JUNE 10, 1977

MR. AMBASSADOR,

I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT, AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD DURING THE PERIOD SINCE RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS ON MAY 11, 1977, PROGRESS HAS BEEN ATTAINED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON INDIVIDUAL PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

AN UPDATED JOINT DRAFT TEXT HAS BEEN PREPARED IN THE DRAFTING GROUP, WHICH REFLECTS THE STATUS OF THE FORMULATIONS BEING DISCUSSED AS OF JUNE 10, 1977.

THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS THAT THE JOINT TEXT WHICH HAS BEEN PREPARED AND WHICH REFLECTS THE ADDITIONALLY AGREED PROVISIONS AS OF JUNE 10, 1977, DOES NOT AFFECT THE PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT REAFFIRMED IN GENEVA IN MAY 1977 BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE U.S.

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DISCUSSION IS CONTINUING OF THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN WORKING OUT THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, WHICH WERE CONSIDERED AT DELEGATION LEVEL, BUT WHICH REMAINED UNAGREED IN THE COURSE OF PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

AS AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH ARE AS YET UNAGREED, THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT WILL BE REVISED

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